DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 176 938 RC 011 659

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TITLE Education and Migration and Their Relationship to the Occupational Opportunities of Rural People in Highland Ecuador. Working Paper 237.
PUB DATE Nov 78
NOTE 37p.

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC02 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS *Access to Education; Developing Nations; *Educational Disadvantagement; Educational Opportunities; Elementary Secondary Education; *Employment Opportunities; Equal Education; Manpower Utilization; *Rural Areas; *Rural to Urban Migration; *Rural Urban Differences
IDENTIFIERS *Ecuador

ABSTRACT

The level of education generally available in rural Ecuador does not permit the rural child the same educational and occupational opportunities as those of a town child. The lack of secondary education opportunities is one reason for this, but inadequacies in the primary schools are a more formidable obstacle. Rural schools rarely offer more than four primary grades, the teachers generally have less training than their city counterparts, and several grades are usually taught by a single teacher. Moreover, at present major government planning policies "see no need to further educate the rural labour force". For a rural resident, the first step to upward mobility is to procure a non-agricultural job, and to do this, he must migrate to an urban area. Of the five case study areas examined in this report, 61 percent of those with five years or more of school experience left their rural communities. Even though they were the best educated from the countryside, these people could only aspire to the worst jobs in town. Manpower requirement predictions for 1980 indicate that people with no more than primary education will be unqualified for anything other than unskilled occupations or farming. Because of their place of birth and abode, half the working population of Ecuador will be relegated to the lowest levels of the occupational ladder. This trend will continue as long as education provision of rural areas is so far behind that of towns. (DS)

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ED176938

Working Paper 237

EDUCATION AND MIGRATION AND THEIR RELATIONSHIP TO THE OCCUPATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES OF RURAL PEOPLE IN HIGHLAND ECUADOR

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November 1978

RC 011 65

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION

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This paper reports on work carried out in the first phase of a Ph.D. programme financed by a studentship from the U.K. Social Science Research Council and under the supervision of Professor M.B. Sutherland. Data for part of this study was gathered as part of a broader project directed by Dr. D.A. Preston and financed by the U.K. Ministry of Overseas Development which was entitled Rural Emigration and Agricultural Development in Highland Ecuador. The advice, comments and criticisms of both the above colleagues is gratefully acknowledged.

Other Working Papers from this project are available from the School of Geography and are listed below:

WP 179	Agricultural change, land tenure and emigration in three mestizo areas of highland Ecuador
WP 180	Emigration, land tenure and agricultural change in areas of Indian population in highland Ecuador
WP 187	Agricultural change and emigration in highland Ecuador
WP 207	Changes in land tenure and land distribution as a result of rural emigration in highland Ecuador
WP 223	Rural migration towards the Ecuadorian Oriente
WP 224	Rural emigration and the destination of migrants in highland Ecuador
WP 238	Rural emigration and agricultural development in highland Ecuador. Final Report

The majority of the above papers are also available in Spanish

Introduction

Manpower planners project future human resource requirements that will facilitate a nation's economic development. Such projections usually include estimates of the educational experience that is necessary to fill vacancies at different levels of the occupational hierarchy. Notionally, but not invariably, educational planners should devise policies for school programmes that are based on the manpower requirement projections. Of necessity, both human resource projections and educational plans are dependent on certain assumptions. Manpower projections are dependent, not only on the accuracy of population predictions; they must also be affected by political and economic events both within a nation and external to it. Such events are frequently unpredictable and long-term planners are unable to account for them. Their effect on different sectors of the labour market can be at considerable variance to planned labour policy. Educational policy, if it is intended to concur with human resource projections makes the assumption that formal education can prepare people for specific occupations and is therefore, essential to the fulfilment of the manpower projections. However, while the course of education that will be needed by an architect, for example, is quite clearly defined and the maximum number of architects that will be needed by a country in the foreseeable future not too difficult to ascertain, it is less easy to prescribe appropriate educational needs for bricklayers or domestic servants. Working on a production line in a factory demands the use of minimal educational skills, if any, and the same appears to be true of agricultural workers. In neither case does schooling, or at least what is formally taught in school, train people for their job. However, allocation to such jobs, certainly in the more developed countries, is almost invariably dependent on failure in education. Leaving the human rights considerations to one side, the overwhelming argument against job allocation prior to education would be the impossibility of ensuring that the most academically suited young people were those who were granted access to most education. For just as it is undesirable that the majority of any nation's labour force should be educational failures, it is essential to the development of the nation that it should have trained people of high

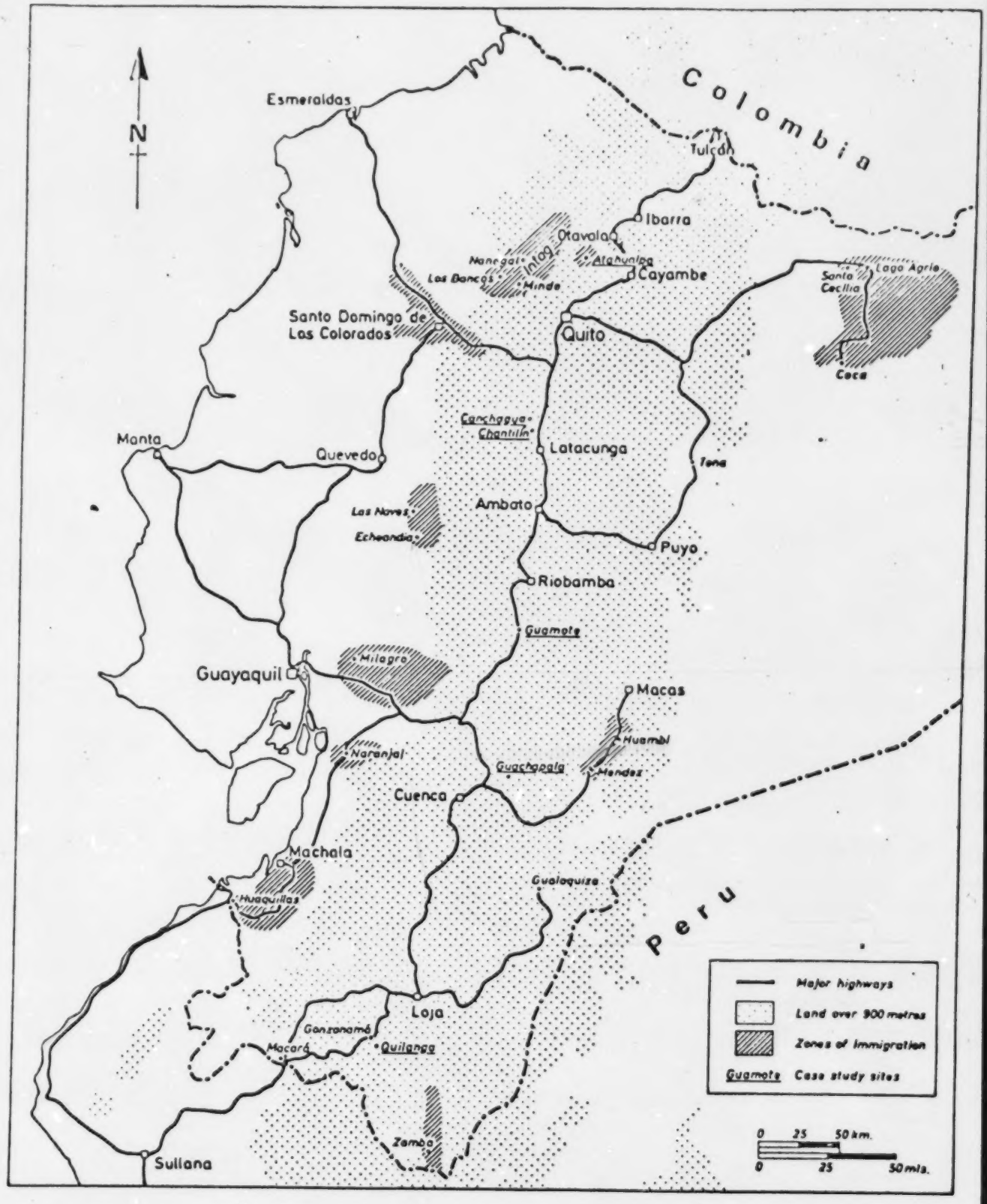
intellectual calibre in positions of power in government, industry and planning. Accepting the need for selection, and educational ability as the yardstick, for the system to be fair, the opportunity to acquire educational skills and qualifications must be equitable. If the provision is unfair, those with least opportunity to acquire such skills will be designated to the least skilled employment, regardless of their latent ability. Such employment is invariably less well remunerated than jobs requiring educational proficiency. In developing countries, where educational provision is usually very uneven, especially in the rural and peripheral urban areas, these jobs are taken by people who come from areas of inferior educational provision. In effect they are allocated to jobs according to where they were brought up.

In this paper it is proposed to consider the implications for people in the rural areas of a developing country, Ecuador, of a) the achievement of manpower objectives, as projected by the national planning board, and b) the fulfilment of educational policies, as described in Ministry of Education documents. Subsequently, after a brief analysis of the attitudes of people in rural Ecuador towards education, it is proposed to consider briefly some empirical data on the relationship of education to employment in the rural areas and any implications for the manpower and educational policies. In the second section, another factor, of necessity associated to the employment prospects of rural people in Ecuador, emigration, will be examined in order to establish its relationship not only to employment, but also to education, in different areas of highland Ecuador.

Data

Four major sources of information will be used in the analysis:

1. Plan ecuatoriano para el desarrollo de los recursos humanos Vols. 1 and 2, (1972), published by the Junta Nacional de Planificación y Coordinación Económica (National Planning Board). The human resource projections for 1980 that appear in these two volumes are based on data from the 1962 national census, with adjustments made to allow for known changes. A third volume will appear in 1978, specifically concerned with the educational requirements of rural areas and the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Santa Cecilia
Coca
Santo Domingo de Los Colorados
Quito
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Las Naves
Echeandia
Ambato
Puyo
Riobamba
Guamote
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Guayaquil
Macas
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Naranjal
Guachapala
Mendez
Cuenca
Machala
Huaquillas
Gualaquiza
Peru
Loja
Gonzanamá
Macará
Quilanga
Zamba
Sullana
Major highways
Land over 900 metres
Zones of immigration
Guamote Case study sites
0 25 50 km.
0 25 50 mls.

Map 1

informal urban sectors. This will be based on data from the more recent 1974 national census.

2. Educational policies Reference will be made to three educational policy documents, published by the Ministerio de Educación Pública;
   i) Programas para las escuelas rurales y semi-rurales. (1959)
   ii) Plan ecuatoriano de educación (1971). This is the second revision of the 1964 educational plans and is little changed from them.
   iii) Plan de desarrollo de la educación (1973)

3. Attitudes to education A pilot study on this topic was undertaken in the parishes of Atahualpa and Chavezpamba in Pichincha province, Ecuador. A sample of one in five of the households was selected and an open questionnaire was used. Local people were most co-operative and all 98 families approached were willing to be interviewed.

4. Association of education, employment and migration The data were collected for the project Rural Emigration and Agricultural Development in Highland Ecuador. Field work for this was carried out in five areas of AndeanEcuador, over a twelve month period, 1975-6. Once again a one household in five sample was used. The project was financed by the U.K. Ministry of Overseas Development, supported by the Ministerio de Agricultura y Ganadería, Quito. The five case study areas were Quilanga in Loja, Guachapala in the province of Azuay, Guamote in the province of Chimborazo, Canchagua and Chantilín in Cotopaxi and Atahualpa and Chavezpamba in Pichincha (see Map 1). In the three mestizo areas, Quilanga, Guachapala and Atahualpa and Chavezpamba there was no difficulty in carrying out the survey. In Guamote and in Canchagua and Chantilín, both Indian areas, there was considerable resistance to the project, not altogether unexpectedly, which meant that it was only possible to work in one part of Guamote, Santa Teresita, and to a limited extent in Canchagua and Chantilín. In total 546 households were interviewed, and data from two generations was gathered; parents and their children. For the purposes of this paper a sub-sample, aged 25-55, of both generations has been taken, except where

specifically indicated to the contrary. This has been done because most of the two principal migrant groups, those who were still away at the time of the survey and those who had been away and returned, fell within this age group, and secondly by controlling the ages in this way any effects of increased educational facilities, experienced by the younger generation, are eliminated. Data for this survey were also collected using an open questionnaire.

CASE STUDY AREA	PARISHES	PREDOMINANT RACE	COMPLETE SCHOOLS	INCOMPLETE SCHOOLS	CULTIVABLE ALTITUDE RANGE (metres)	CROPS FROM LOW TO HIGH ALTITUDE
Quilanga	Quilanga	mestizo	2	15	1500-2200	manioc, citrus, cane, coffee, maize, beans, grains, potatoes.
Guachapala	Guachapala	mestizo	1	0	1500-2200	manioc, citrus, tomatoes, maize.
Guamote	Guamote (Santa Teresita)	indian	0	1	2000-2500	maize, beans, barley, potatoes.
Canchagua	Canchagua Chantilín	indian	0	2	2000-2500	maize, beans, barley, potatoes.
Atahualpa	Atahualpa Chavezpamba Puellaro (Aloguincho)	mestizo	1	6	1600-2700	citrus, cane, maize, beans, potatoes.

Table No.1. Summary of the case study areas.

1. HUMAN RESOURCE REQUIREMENTS IN ECUADOR

Projected labour force requirements for Ecuador in 1980(1), show an expected increase of 65 per cent in the economically active population of the country, in the case of an anticipated doubling of the population from 4 millions to more than 8 millions in the period following the 1962 national census. The greatest percentage increase

in the labour force is forecast in the high level occupations while the greatest number of new workers will join the semi and unskilled sectors.

Sector	Employment target 1980	Percentage increase (since 1962)
Professional	34,000	84.6
Sub-professionals	34,040	86.7
Qualified/skilled	149,620	71.6
Semi-skilled	233,460	59.7
Unskilled	1,133,530	62.0
(Farmers	826,360	60.7)

Table No.2. Projected increase in different employment sectors for 1980(2)

The educational requirements of the different occupational groups are staggered, as are those of the different occupations within each group. According to the National Planning Board's projections, access to the professions will be open to those with university education, while those with primary education or less will only be eligible for unskilled work. It is projected that forty per cent of the unskilled labour force will only have three years or less of primary schooling, insufficient to acquire functional literacy. (3) Ninety per cent of this unskilled sector will be farmers who, in 1980, will still constitute half of the economically active population. Half of these, assumed by the National Planning Board to be largely wage labourers, will have no more than this minimal educational experience and so be functionally illiterate. The projected educational attainment of the remaining farmers, who it is believed will own their own land, is complete primary schooling. From the prediction, it is clear that people with more than primary education are not expected to become farmers. If this is in fact the case, then evidently farming has very low status in the occupational hierarchy: it is perceived as unskilled employment to be performed by those with very limited educational experience. The human resource projection show that people with complete primary schooling can aspire to some semi-skilled employment and one qualified occupation, primary school teaching, as well as to the whole range of unskilled jobs. Less than complete primary schooling offers only unskilled work possibilities.

OCCUPATIONAL GROUP	NUMBER REQUIRED 1980	EDUCATIONAL REQUIREMENTS (IN YEARS) UNIVERSITY 5+	UNIVERSITY 1-4	SECONDARY 4-6	SECONDARY 1-3	PRIMARY 4-6	PRIMARY 1-3
All occupations	1,789,170	33,760	42,980	155,030	191,440	873,610	492,350
Professional	34,000	24,940	9,060				
Sub-professionals	34,040	3,320	18,300	12,420			
Qualified/skilled	149,620	3,400	12,220	80,290	52,620	1,090	
Semi-skilled	233,460	900	1,350	28,000	87,610	115,600	
Unskilled	1,133,530			7,320	22,140	656.720	447,350
(Farmers						420,000	406,360

Table 3.
Educational requirements of new entrants into the labour market between 1962 and 1980

The implications of these requirements may be seen to afford the Ministry of Education the excuse to provide much less education in the rural areas, given that people in Ecuador who become farmers are traditionally those who have been reared in a rural environment. Any such policy would formally endorse the existing marked differences between the rural and urban areas, both in work opportunities and standard of living. It would also entail a dilemma. To meet the overall increase in national manpower requirements, labour from the rural areas will have to move out of agriculture into alternative occupations, particularly since the increase in population and consequent pressure on land will be among various factors that will heighten rural emigration. If the educational experience of such migrants has been minimal, as a result of inadequate school provision rather than a lack of ability the occupations that they will be able to enter after migrating will be severely limited. If the rate of migration were to increase the pressure for even the least skilled occupations, the educational requirements demanded for them will also increase and people with lower levels of education will not get a job. Many farmers in the highland communities feel that this situation has already occurred (4).

The goals of education and implications for the rural environment

The stated philosophy of primary education in Ecuador and its provision in the rural environment has vacillated considerably over the last two decades. In 1959 the aims of education for rural people were identified separately from those for other sectors (5). Apart from stimulating patriotism in the children, the first objective of all branches of primary schooling, the school programmes were to turn rural children 'towards a career in agriculture by evoking in them a profound love of the land' (6). Teachers were to encourage the 'adoption of modern agricultural methods which would increase production and improve the standard of living in the rural environment as a result of the increased income that would follow' (7). Schooling was considered to be 'one of the most effective instruments to ensure that the peasant stayed on the land and to fight the grave threat to national development, emigration from the rural areas to the towns'. Teachers were to 'demonstrate respect for the rural environment and its people' (8) and at the same time they were to teach hygiene and home improvements. They were to 'encourage the setting up of co-operatives' (9) and to teach some basic agriculture as well as the full school curriculum. They were solemnly cautioned against bad timetabling, that was known to be the cause of large and frequent omissions from the programme.

In 1964, with revisions in 1969 and 1971 a much more carefully argued statement of educational intent was published by the Ministry of Education (10). Fully acknowledging the dilemma confronting educationists, of providing education as a basic right and, at the same time, as a means to fulfil national human resource requirements, this policy is underpinned by the idea that 'the goal of schooling across the land must, ultimately be to further national economic development' (11). 'The labour force in the modern sector must have basic educational skills, for there can be no development if the labour force is static' (12), by which education becomes, implicitly, the catalyst for a dynamic labour force in the non-traditional sector. As far as the rural people are concerned, 'their skills, initiative, and responsibility are integral to national wealth', given the economic dependence on agriculture, 'and at the same time 'it is the rural areas that will provide the most fecund labour source for the modern economic sectors'(13).

In spite of this, these documents still recommend that schools should strive to prevent rural emigration. Specifically, rural education should be extended from four to the full six grades of primary school which would 'contribute to the cultural elevation of the whole nation, to the mobilization of traditionally static communities in the direction of modernization and would also enhance the possibilities for the rural childto attend secondary school, which, apart from any personal benefit that may be derived, would improve the social mix at the secondary, and later at the tertiary levels! (14). Clearly a change has occurred in the motivation for providing education in rural areas. Schooling there is to enhance the development of the modernizing sectors and there is no longer much emphasis on encouragement to work in agriculture.

The five year plan for the development of education, 1973-78, on the other hand, devotes special attention to rural educational provision (15). Its emphasis is on rural, rather than national development. It aims to implement a series of development programmes in the rural environment, sponsored by different government agencies, that will raise living standards and improve the local economy (16). The theme of the plan is participation and the aim is community involvement, but all decisions will, it seems, come from ministerial levels of Government. The rural schools will participate by a process of nuclearization, currently being used in other Andean Pact countries. Resources for several schools will be pooled at a central nucleus building so that the more remote schools, with less material facilities, should be able to benefit from the full range of equipment available close at hand in the area.

The attitude expressed in these three policies to the relationship between the education of rural people and their future occupations is ambivalent. The early programme is quite opposed to rural exodus and romantically impracticable in its proposal to impede it. The most recent proposals are committed to making the countryside a better place in which to live, via education, without giving specific consideration to the occupations of school leavers. In the intervening years it was policy to encourage favorable attitudes to living and working in the modern sector, with little overt concern for the impact on this on the rural areas.

Such changes in policy cannot but confuse educational administrators and teachers and ultimately detract from the effectiveness of the schools. They also reflect the uncertainty of administrators and planners when considering the most suitable education for rural people and this probably lowers the credibility of the school in the eyes of rural people, causing them to question the relevance of its aims to their needs.

None of the policies refer to training for specific careers through primary schooling and, as has already been described, the manpower requirement predictions for 1980 make it clear that people with no more than primary schooling will be unqualified for anything other than unskilled occupations or farming. Few rural areas at present offer more than primary schooling, and many do not have the benefit of all six primary grades. This can only imply that the occupational prospects of people from such areas will be very restricted, not on account of the innate inability of the rural child to excel at school, but because of the limitations of the provision available.

In the light of the foregoing comments on the relationship of the educational plans for rural areas of Ecuador and the National Planning Board's human resource projections for 1980, it is proposed to describe, briefly, the primary education system in Ecuador, with special reference to the provision made in rural areas, before continuing to examine (a) the ways in which rural people evaluate education and (b) the employment opportunities that they find.

Educational provision in rural Ecuador.

The administration of primary schooling throughout Ecuador is centralized. The Ministry of Education in Quito is responsible for all planning, policy and finance. Provincial branches of the Ministry aim to implement policies and they are responsible for the appointment and allocation of teachers within their areas. Each school has a director who is answerable to the provincial director of education. The single teacher is automatically his own director; there is no sub-provincial bureaucracy at canton level which might expedite communications from the provincial office to the schools, some of which are very isolated.

The nature of the schools provided depends very much on the community to be served. Schools in canton capitals and larger population centres are always complete in that they offer six grades. Such centres normally also have a secondary school. Establishment of a complete primary school is the objective for parish centres, but there are still many without the full complement of teachers and some that do not offer all six grades. Schools in the outlying parish districts, often only accessible by foot are likely to have only one teacher, or maybe two. The number of children attending the single teacher schools varies enormously from place to place and the number of grades taught rarely exceeds four. Half of the rural primary schools in Ecuador, in 1973, had only one teacher but ninety two per cent of urban schools had between five and ten teachers. The majority of rural primary teachers had specialised in education in the final stages of their secondary education, but the number without secondary education completion certificates, whether or not from teacher training schools, is high, and a few have no post-primary schooling at all. Most of these least-qualified teachers find employment in the isolated, single teacher rural school.

The pupil-teacher ratio varies. In the complete schools in the different case study areas there were between 30 and 40 children to a class (17). The range was much greater in the single teacher schools. In the parish of Quilanga there were 16 children in the school at Galápagos and 75 in Anganuma. Overall, especially in the more isolated schools, attendance fluctuates and wastage is high. The Sectoral Analysis of 1974 estimated that, of a cohort of 1000 rural children entering the first primary grade, only 274 children would complete sixth grade, having taken 13.4 years to do so, allowing for wastage through repetition and dropping out. The estimates for town children suggest that 616 of the 1000 cohort would complete the primary course in an average of 8.16 years (18).

The curriculum is planned in Quito and used across the country. At present there is no permitted differences in what town and country children learn. The annual examinations for which each class must prepare cover the same subject areas. The effect of this can be very serious for the rural teacher coping with several grades simultaneously, who cannot hope to present

as much of the curriculum in a year as the teacher in the complete school with only one grade to teach. The curriculum is primarily devoted to the teaching of literacy and a rudimentary numeracy, accompanied by large amounts of history and geography. Basic health education has been introduced and although an hour a week is supposedly dedicated to agricultural studies, few primary school teachers allow for it. Since 1971 'class association' has been intended to encourage pupil-centred activities with the teacher participating on equal terms with the children (19). Once again, this innovation, also intended to occupy one hour each week, was not encountered during the field work.

Few rural children continue their schooling beyond the primary level. Many parents are keen for them to go on to secondary school, but few can afford the associated expenses. The demand for secondary school provision in rural areas is growing, especially since so many people now have primary certificates, a currency of greater value is being required for entry into the non-agricultural labour market. One of the case study areas, Quilanga in the province of Loja, inaugurated its secondary school in 1976 with 90 pupils in the first grade, 30 more than its intended capacity. On a national basis, 52 per cent of young people aged 15-19 who were living in towns, were attending secondary school (20); the figure for the rural areas was 10 per cent.

The extent to which the rural primary schools can effectively implement policy is unclear. Certainly the teachers encourage patriotism with the daily ceremonies beneath the national flag and veneration of national heroes in history and geography classes. However, they are not equipped to teach agriculture; they lack the knowledge of basic sciences and of agricultural techniques and so would be quite unable to communicate much information and new ideas with any conviction. In any case, many find it difficult to demonstrate respect for the rural environment and its people even though they are often themselves products of it. They have often been partly educated in the city and would not willingly return to a life dependent on farming. Their dress, their speech, and their job alienate them from the

rural people and this is compounded by the fact that, where possible, they will live in a nearby town and commute to school. If the distance is too great, they will spend their weekends away, leaving early on Friday and returning late on Monday. In town, they constantly hear negative clichés about the backwardness of country people and the baseness of their standards of living in an environment, the quality of which is usually believed to be much superior to that of the country.

In the mestizo areas of the country the teachers probably succeed in teaching the basic skills of literacy and numeracy to those children who stay at least as far as the fourth grade. In the Indian areas, where the children do not speak Spanish on entering the school system, their success is less certain. Teachers have had no practical training in the handling of several grades of children at once, even at the most well known of the teacher colleges. It is even rarer that they have had any instruction at all in teaching a bilingual class.

There is no way that the level of education generally available in rural Ecuador can enable the rural child to have the same occupational opportunities as a town child. The overall lack of secondary provision is one reason for this, but inadequacies in the primary school are more serious. The broad-fronted nuclearization programme, including as it does provision for at least basic secondary schooling in the areas that are selected for nuclei, may to some extent enhance the career prospects of the rural child. Given that educational qualifications do select people for different levels of employment, as long as there is a great difference in the levels of education attainable by town and by country children, there will continue to exist the wide discrepancy in the eligibility of the two groups for different jobs. Increasingly, as the demand for improvement in the living standards of the rural environment grows and as more people come to realize that educational certificates can open the door to a variety of secure employments the demand for educational parity will grow. That the process has begun is clear from the following brief analysis of the attitudes of one group of rural Ecuadorians towards education.

Attitudes of rural people to education and employment

People in Atahualpa, north of Quito (21), were ambivalent in their evaluation of schooling. Their ambivalence reflects the dilemma inherent in the motivation for the provision of schooling. One third of the 80 respondents with children still of school age believed that education served primarily as a means to acquire a non-agricultural job with regular wages. Another third believed that education conferred respectability on the individual. Of the remainder, half felt that the acquisition of skills was the major function of schooling. A few were sceptical of the value of schooling at all. Of the parents who clearly had positive aspirations for their children, nearly two thirds hoped that they would be able to attend secondary school while most of the others were intent on them finishing primary school. However, while the people in Atahualpa generally believed that educational provision in different parts of Ecuador should be the same, they agreed that schooling in rural areas of the country was considerably inferior to that of the towns.

Such attitudes do reflect an awareness among the rural people of Atahualpa of the desirability of a non-agricultural job and of the usefulness of school qualifications in acquiring it. They also imply a recognition of the fact that, if their offspring are to obtain such jobs, then they will have to leave the community, for there are virtually no such employment openings in the rural areas. In the same way, the appreciation of the nature of the difference in rural and urban schools almost certainly reveals an awareness of the implications of such differentiation in terms of employment prospects. This was certainly the case for those parents who had sent their children to continue their schooling in nearby towns, as well as for those who were considering moving the whole family to an area with improved educational provision.

The aspirations of those people who dreamed of their children leaving agriculture did not appear to be unrealistic. Firstly, the overall increase in population, coupled with a certain drop in the demand for labour on the land, means that people will be forced to seek employment in other sectors,

particularly in centres of industrialization and modernization which will have increased employment opportunities for more people of all types of background. Secondly, the level of jobs that the farmers of Atahualpa desired for their children was, using the human resource occupation scales as a guide, only slightly higher than farming (22), in the skilled or semi-skilled sectors. Very few aspired for their children to attain professional status. Those who did were those who had already committed themselves to the expense of placing them in secondary schools, and who might reasonably see their expectations fulfilled.

Occupations of rural people in highland Ecuador

The children of informants from the five case study areas in the Ecuadorean highlands were engaged in the following occupations (23).

OCCUPATION	N	MEAN YEARS OF SCHOOLING
None	66	3.8
Working for parents	232	4.5
Farmer/housewife	527	3.8
Unskilled employee	182	5.0
Artisan	47	5.0
Merchant	77	4.3
Qualified/semi-skilled employee	64	6.1
Student	45	6.4
Professional	0	-

N = 1240. Missing cases 65. Total 1305

Table No. 4.
Occupations and educational attainment of informants' children (aged 14 and over)

Born and bred in a rural environment, it is not surprising that 60 per cent were dependent on agriculture for their livelihood. Of those who were employed in non-agricultural activities, most were working as unskilled labourers, primarily in building, domestic service and caretaking.

Only 5 per cent had jobs for which they had needed any training or some basic taught skills. None had started a professional career. Comparing these figures with the proportion of qualified and semi-qualified workers in the 1962 census (23%) and the projected requirements for 1980 (22%) [illegible]ken from across the country as a whole (24), it is clear that the people from the five areas that were studied, which are believed to be typical of other rural areas in the highlands, have very inferior access to such levels of employment and that they are particularly unlikely to enter a professional career.

As anticipated, educational experience in the case study areas relates strongly to employment. Farmers had generally less education than those who lived by other means. People who, at the time of the survey, were working for their parents, usually in farming, were on the whole youngsters who had left school but who had not yet set up their own home. Their educational levels, usually higher than those of the established farmers, are explained by recent increases in the number of grades of primary school offered in the locality. The seemingly low educational experience of those who were engaged in commerce is attributable to the high proportion of merchants from the Indian areas of Canchagua and Chantilín (25). Most of the qualified or semi-qualified workers in the sample had had at least some experience of secondary school and those who were classed as students were all at different stages in the secondary system, apart from 10 who had begun university courses. Most of the students had already left the communities (26) since post-primary education was not available there.

Migration, however, was not restricted to those seeking to extend their education. Sixty per cent of the younger generation who had left school and were working were employed away from home. Of those who had abandoned agriculture, 70 per cent had migrated. Among the farmers. slightly more than one quarter were farming away from their original community. The greatest proportion of the non-migrants who were not farming were craftsmen or shop keepers. Most of the migrants were in jobs that demanded no specific skills. It would indeed appear that a person seeking employment outside of farming will be likely to move from the community to obtain it. Only 16 per cent of the non-migrants had employment other than in family farming.

Only 13.6 per cent of the migrants worked as farmers. Thus, it is possible to say that the majority of migrants from the case study areas were seeking non-agricultural employment and that most of them found it in the semi-skilled and unskilled sectors of the labour market.

OCCUPATION	NON MIGRANT	MIGRANT
None	58 (86.6%)	9
Working for parents	232 (99.0%)	2
Farmer/Housewife	357 (67.9%)	169
(Farmer	185 (73.1%	68)
Unskilled employee	15 (8.2%)	167
Artisan	22 (48.9%)	23
Merchant	28 (37.8%)	466
Qualified/semi-qualified employee	9 (14.1%)	55
Student	15 (33.3%)	30
Professional	0 -	0
N=1237		
Missing cases 68		
Total = 1305	736 (59.5%)	501

Table No. 5. Occupations and migration of the children of informants (aged 14 years and over)

This situation is not entirely surprising. It provides a further insight into the function of social stratification in Ecuador and exemplifies the contrasting perceptions of planners and the rural people themselves of the situation in the countryside. If it is accepted that the level of educational achievement is a major criterion for selection to different levels of employment, it is inevitable that the planners should include the rural sector, at least those who live by farming, in the least educated sector of the projected labour force. In the first place, they have accurate knowledge of the inferior educational provision available in the rural parts of the country and secondly, because of the ever present idea

of the essential inadequacy of rural people themselves. Educational planners too, in their vacillating plans for improving the educational facilities in the rural areas manifest the same awareness of rural inferiority as well as a clear understanding, latterly at least, of the futility of the school endeavouring to improve the quality of life for rural people without the support of other agencies.

The people in the different communities that were visited, well aware of the different living standards between town and country, were quick to cite major improvements that they would like to see introduced in their areas. They were sensitive to their negative image in the towns and many saw equality of employment opportunity as one solution to the problem, while freely admitting that this would frequently involve abandoning agriculture. Education was widely accepted as a means to achieve non-farming employment and consequently the demand for better educational facilities and post primary education was already increasing.

What none of the different parties concerned can envisage is a solution to the overall problem of rural underdevelopment. In consequence alternatives proposed by the educational planners and the farmers are myopic on the one hand and self-serving on the other. The farmer is reinforced in his belief of his own social inferiority to some extent because of the manifestly inferior provision of social services in the rural areas and also because of the low cash income that he enjoys. It is aggravated by the steady rate of migration, increasingly to towns, without a reciprocal flow into the countryside by townspeople. It is always the farmer who seeks alternative forms of employment: the townsman who turns to farming is indeed exceptional (27).

Having so far demonstrated that educational achievement in the Ecuadorian highlands does relate strongly to employment gained by the rural people, but having remarked that migration from the community is necessary if employment is to be found it is next proposed to analyse in greater detail the relationship of education to migration and to establish whether educational

achievement is also a criterion for migration, independently of employment.

2. EDUCATION AND MIGRATION

Hardly a migration study, whether based on Ravenstein's push-pull theory of migration or on Sjaastad's human investment theory, fails to allude to the educational levels of the migrants and non-migrant groups. Generally, migrants have been found to have been more education than non-migrants (passim; e.g., Butterworth, Bradfield). However, Adams found that migrants to alternative rural areas in Colombia were less educated than non-migrants and Haney, also working in rural Colombia, found that the most and the least educated were the most prone to migrate. Van Es and Wilkening, in their study of a colonization area of Brazil observed a decreased in the educational attainment of migrants over time, as did Browning and Feindt in their analysis of urban migration over three inter-censal periods in Mexico. They explained this by the change in the style of the migratory flow, from 'pioneer' to 'mass' migration into a particular area. They argue that the early migrants were especially dynamic and prepared, in part by their educational experience, to meet strange situations in new places, but that today's mass movements to areas where others have already pioneered comprise a different sort of person. In spite of such change over time in the type of people migrating, it is agreed in most research that migrants to towns are generally better educated than migrants to alternative rural areas. Bradfield also noticed that migrants to large towns, in the case of his study, Lima, had more experience of formal education than did migrants to smaller towns, for example Chimbote. Distance is nearly always described as a deterrent to migration, for both financial and cultural reasons (e.g., Beals, Levy and Moses) and educational experience is seen as credit with which to offset other disadvantages. The relationship of education to return migration has only been scantily examined but there is evidence to show that those who return have generally been better educated than the non-migrants (Feindt and Browning).

Education is often cited as the cause of the desire for upward mobility (Roberts), and the level of employment obtained is taken as an indicator of this. For the person brought up in a rural environment, the first step

towards higher social status is to procure a non-agricultural job. To do this, it is almost essential to migrate. If, for as long as he can remember, the parents and teachers of the rural child have extolled the virtues of working for regular hours for a fixed wage and have said that he will achieve this if he works hard at school, then he is unlikely to look forward to life in farming as soon as he leaves school. The implications of this are that the child does not work at school will have low aspirations and be more likely to take up farming. The flow of better educated migrants to towns is generally seen as a response to the wider range of job opportunities there, demanding different level of educational skills. However, since the educational attainment level of townspeople is generally above that of even the better educated rural people it is generally believed that the opportunities for rural people to obtain anything but unskilled labouring jobs or self-employment in the informal sector, would be slight. Schultz, working in Bogotá, observed that in the parts of the city that attracted large numbers of migrants, the educational levels were approximately the same, or even slightly lower, than those of the newcomers. He also found that the migrants found better than average jobs for those distridts.

The possibility of continuing education on arrival in the town is another increasingly common reason for rural emigration, especially among the young who have just finished primary school. Research in the United States, (Burchinall), has shown that a person's job aspirations were more likely to be fulfilled if he completed his education in the areas where he hoped to work. Concern about the effects of the most educated people leaving the rural areas are often alarmist. Anomia at destination (Sabot and Barnum) and brain drain from the countryside, (Lipton, Todaro), are frequently emphasised. Increasing the educational provision in the rural areas will, it is said, only accelerate the process. Gaude, on the other hand, demonstrates in great detail how a nation's whole economy might suffer if the rates of migration out of the rural areas were to be slowed down, with the rural people being those who would suffer the most. Whichever may prove to be the situation in different areas, there is tentative agreement in the research that has been done so far that one of the benefits of migration

from rural areas is the return flow of people who have lived and worked elsewhere.

Migration and Education in Highland Ecuador

Analysis of the data (28) shows that in the five different case study areas shows that there was a statistically significant relationship (at the 0.001 level) between an individual's level of education and the likelihood that he will have had migratory experience. Sixty six per cent of those people with less than four years of primary schooling had never migrated. Sixty one per cent of those who had five years or more of school experience had left the community.

YEARS OF EDUCATION	N=100%	NON MIGRANT	HAS MIGRATORY EXPERIENCE
0	126	104 (85.5%)	22 (14.5%)
1-2	125	81 (64.8%)	44 (32.3%)
3-4	436	272 (62.4%)	164 (37.6%)
5-6	320	123 (38.4%)	197 (61.6%)
TOTAL	1007	580 (52.9%)	427)47.1%)

$\chi^2 = 82.8237$ d.f. = 3.

Table No. 6.
Educational attainment of migrants and non-migrants (aged 25-55)

The propensity of people to migrate is seen to increase, as their level of education increases. Further more, distinguishing migrants who were still away from those who had been away and returned to their community, it is clear that while both groups have had more schooling, overall, than the non-migrants, those who were still away from their community at the time of the survey in 1975-6 were generally slightly better educated than those who had returned. Similarly, those who claimed that they were intending to migrate had more educational experience than those with no intentions of leaving their community in the future, but less than either of the groups with migratory experience.

SAMPLE	NON MIGRANT	ALL MIGRANTS	RETURNED MIGRANTS	MIGRANTS STILL AWAY
3.7	3.2	4.3	3.7	4.6
(1007)	(580)	(427)	(144)	(283)

Table No. 7. Mean years of education of different migrant groups (Aged 25-55)

MIGRATORY INTENTIONS	
NONE	INTENDING TO MOVE
3.2 (193)	3.4 (115)

Table No. 8.
Mean years of schooling of heads of families, according to their future migratory intentions

Thus, it is possible to say that educational attainment, in the five case study areas at least, quite clearly relates to migration from the rural environment in general and to different patterns of migratory behaviour in particular, and there is no reason to suppose that the situation should not be general throughout the Ecuadorian highlands. It is also to be observed that there appears to be a scaled relationship between the levels of educational experience and the different migrant groups. Any explanation for this must lie either in the effect of schooling upon the individual in providing some qualification for migration, or because of its perceived necessity for entry into the employment market. Inkeles and Smith found that increased exposure to school, a modern institution, raised the individual's Overall Modernity, that is to say his propensity to favour modern as opposed to traditional approaches to life. They also found that both increased educational attainment and fairly high levels of Overall Modernity associated significantly with the propensity to migrate. Wilkie, researching in rural Argentina, found migrants to be more optimistic than non-migrants and Eastwood found them to be more highly achievement motivated in Venezuelan colonization areas than non-migrants in their home community.

All three of these studies interpret migration to be a positive act and the implications, from Inkeles and Smith, are that schooling can contribute to the dynamism necessary to perform it. From the data from Ecuador, then it may well be possible to claim that different patterns of migratory behaviour are to some extent determined, or at least are related to, different amounts of school experience. If it is less dynamic not to migrate than to migrate, it would seem that those intending to migrate are less dynamic than those who have migrated but subsequently returned and that those who have left the community and remained away from it are the most dynamic of all. Some support is lent to this idea by the analysis of the relationship of school experience to the length of time spent away from their community by migrants who subsequently returned. Educational experience quite clearly increases with increases in the length of the time spent away.

NON MIGRANTS	RETURNED MIGRANTS ACCORDING TO THEIR LENGTH OF ABSENCE				
	Up to 6m.	6m.-1yr.	1-2yr.	2-5yr.	5yr. and more
2.2 (296)	2.8 (93)	2.8 (20)	3.4 (17)	2.9 (16)	3.7 (23)

Table No.9.
Mean years of education of all returned migrants according to the length of of time spent away from their community (29)

It would seem from this that it is perhaps the socio-psychological impact of schooling that selects an individual for migration in the first place, and that it is credentials that he acquires in school that determine the level of his employment aspirations.

It was also possible to establish finer patterns in the association between education and migration in the five case study areas. The first of these was when considering the type of destination chosen, whether rural or urban. For all three groups (the intending migrants, the returned migrants and those who were still away) urban migration was associated with higher levels of educational experience than rural migration.

RETURNED MIGRANTS		MIGRANTS AWAY		INTENDING MIGRANTS	
RURAL	URBAN	RURAL	URBAN	RURAL	URBAN
3.	4.3	3.9	5.0	2.9	3.8
(104)	(40)	(111)	(172)	(74)	(58)
N=144		N=283		N=132	

Table No.10
Educational experience of different migrant groups according to their chosen destination

A possible explanation for this lies in the different employment prospects in the two areas. While it is far from certain that migrants to rural areas will in fact work in agriculture, (Bradfield), the alternative forms of employment in other rural areas usually involve manual labour and rarely demand educational skill or credentials. Employment in towns, although often in factories or in domestic service, is, increasingly, only open to those with some formal school qualifications, regardless, of whether educational skills are needed to do the work. It may well be that the high number of returned migrants from rural areas, compared to the low number still away there, is evidence of greater dissatisfaction with life, due to climatic factors as well as to conditions of labour.

There are three major rural environments in Ecuador: The coastal lowlands the Amazon Basin and, separating them from North and South, the Andean region. All the communities studied were in the Andean region and most rural migration was directed towards one or other of the lowland areas, especially to colonization zones. Farming there tends to be on a larger scale and more commercially oriented than in the highlands where the majority of farms are small holdings. A few people do migrate to other rural communities in the highlands, usually within the province in which they lived as children, and, curiously, it is they, of the rural migrants still away from their home community, who have had greater educational experience than those who went to the more distant and culturally distinct lowland zones. Conversely, of the returned migrants, the few who had returned after being away in local

rural communities were less well-educated than those who went much further away and who had subsequently returned.

	RURAL DESTINATIONS DISTANCE FROM HOME			URBAN DESTINATIONS DISTANCE FROM HOME			
	SHORT		LONG	SHORT			LONG
Migrants away 1975-6	5.1 (38)	3.9 (72)	3.8 (59)	5.7 (74)	5.1 (208)	4.8 (24)	5.8 (36)
Returned Migrants	2.3 (9)	3.2 (126)	2.9 (37)	3.7 (31)	2.9 (21)	5.0 (5)	6.0 (1)

Table No. 11:
Mean years of education of migrants according to destination and distance travelled

Migrants to towns go mainly to the local provincial capital or to the two metropolises, Quito and Guayaquil. A few go to smaller country towns often to those within easy distance of their home community. Again contrary to expectations, the migrants to the provincial capitals and to the other nearby towns were generally more schooled than those who travelled much further to either of the two large cities. One exception to this was the groups of migrants from Quilanga in Quito who were considerably more educated than other Quilanga urban migrants. As was the case with the migrants to other rural areas, the returned migrants with most educational experience were those who had been to the most distant places.

These patterns appear to confound the theory that migrants who travel over greater distances are generally better educated than those who do not go so far. Although most migration studies, particularly the econometric ones, consider that education is likely to make a migrant more confident and less afraid of travelling long distances to culturally alien places, it is in fact quite logical that the most gifted of the rural migrants should be employed first, if their reputation has travelled before them by word of mouth, from friends or even teachers. People with less education would be

forced to travel further to seek for work, once all the vacancies in the locality were filled. If they find it hard to adapt to the more alien, distant environment, and harder to find jobs, they will be likely to return to their community which may be the explanation for the comparatively high education level of returning migrants from more distant places. A further explanation for this unexpected occurrence may lie in the exclusively rural character of the sample. Many, though by no means all, of the other projects that relate to the field of study have included a more definitely urban component in their samples. This is inevitably the case where census data has been used.

The need for people from the rural areas of highland Ecuador to migrate in order to gain access to a wider variety of jobs has already been outlined. It has also been shown how it is that the better educated are the members of a rural community most likely to obtain regular jobs and that they are most likely to migrate to towns in order to do so. It follows that most of the people who have acquired stable remunerated employment are working in towns, in part as a result of their superior educational attainment. Less than ten per cent of people with such jobs had moved into other rural areas, and those that had done so had been sent by employers. Three were policemen and two were primary school teachers. Of the unskilled migrants in other rural areas, 12 per cent of all the migrants working in unskilled employment, were working on construction sites or for the road services department. A greater proportion of the artisans and merchants, both generally self-employed, small scale operators, frequently with less education than the unskilled workers, had migrated to rural areas. Curiously those who had migrated to towns were slightly less educated.

Comment

Firstly, neither of the two feared effects of migration, brain drain and rural decline, appears to have occurred in the areas that were studied. Since forty per cent of the non-migrant population in the communities had completed their primary education and 82 per cent of those remaining had three years or more of education, (84 per cent of the migrants) it cannot be said that the communities are being left without educated people. Also, in addition to the non-migrant group, another 30 per cent of the community

populations have lived away and subsequently returned. Their educational levels are slightly higher than those of the non-migrants and their experiences elsewhere are more than likely to help increase the level of awareness in the community development. Indeed, none of the case study areas was static or in decline. All showed signs of rapid and recent development, some imposed from outside government agencies, such as the PREDESUR project in Quilanga (3). The credit co-operative in Atahualpa had grown up from within the community, under the enthusiastic guidance of the headmaster of the school and the priest. A little change had come to Guachapala with the introduction of tomatoes, which led to large-scale production and marketing in Cuenca by one or two farmers. In the Indian areas change was less conspicuous, but the constant migratory flow in and out of Canchagua and Chantilín meant that nearly everyone there had knowledge of life outside the community and experience of non-agricultural work. The least changed community was Santa Teresita, in the parish of Guamote. However, even there, a school had been opened in the chapel, non-formal education was available to the adults in the evenings, and the community, convinced of the need for education if they were to progress, were devoting a great deal of time and energy to building a new school. It is impossible to say that more change would have taken place if more of the communities' better educated people had not left, any more than it can be asserted that the education of the people was a contributing factor in making these changes.

Anomia, the adverse effect of educated migrants swamping a labour market, does not appear to be a problem in Ecuador. Most of the migrants to the towns, where this is likely to occur, have had less education than the native urban population. Consequently, while there may be pressure on jobs, this will only affect the unskilled, and to some extent, the semi-skilled sectors, as most rural migrants' educational qualifications make them ineligible for other jobs. It does not yet cause the devaluation of educational credentials of the whole labour market.

Much of the migration from rural communities nowadays is to towns, yet most of the returned migrants had spent their time away in other rural areas. This may indicate a change in the employment patterns in the two areas, but

it may simply represent a greater discontent with life in the steamy lowlands than in the towns with their great range of services and opportunities. In the 1930-50s, seasonal labour was required by the coastal sugar, cacao and cotton plantations at planting and harvesting time. Many people from the highlands were attracted by the daily rates of pay, which were more than twice those at home in the highlands. In recent times, the demand for such labour has diminished, in part because of the larger labour force resident in the coastal areas, and also on account of the increased mechanisation of commercial agriculture. At the same time industry has expanded steadily in the towns and increased the number of jobs that are available especially in the unskilled sector. Such jobs have good rates of pay and additional social and welfare benefits; they are highly attractive to potential migrants from the countryside, and they are not seasonal. Given the abundance of labour supply for these jobs, primary education certificates are being increasingly demanded as a fixed measure for the selection of suitable workers. The reputedly unpleasant climate of the rural parts of the tropical lowlands, to the east especially, is a frequent cause of the highland labourer's retreat to his homelands. Reports of very low living standards, and the high incidence of disease also contribute to the generally negative image of these areas in the Ecuadorian Andes. The image of urban life, by contrast, is very attractive and positive.

While the relationship between educational attainment, migration and employment in modern sector for bureaucratic jobs is fairly logical, the need for migrants to other rural areas, who are intending to work on the land, to have had more schooling than their non-migrant peers, is not at all clear. Their work will demand no more experties than it did in their original community. It is this that makes it appear that migration does have a relationship to education that is not necessarily linked to employment. Do such people feel that their education has been sufficient for them to leave their community, but insufficient for them to aspire to a regular job, since in the main they were less educated than migrants to towns? Will they be more likely to return to their community than their peers in towns and is this because of their level of education? More research is needed to assess the predictability of migratory movements particularly in the light of educational experience.

It is easy to see an explanation for the most educated migrants, from rural areas travelling the shortest distances, in spite of the fact that it has not been commonly observed in migration studies. It is logical that the best educated people should be offered jobs first. The informal communication network between the community and the people who have left it to live in local towns ensures that a person's reputation can travel well ahead of him. If he is reputedly able, then he will probably find employment without much delay. More research is needed to examine the nature of the relationship between educational attainment, and the distance travelled by migrants, especially if they are from totally rural areas.

Finally, while on the whole different occupations in different places demand differing educational levels, and urban employees usually the most educated of all, it should be noted that the educational attainment of non-migrants in semi-skilled jobs, such as the local registrars, telephonists and town clerks, had more schooling than people who had such jobs and who had migrated. This is probably a reflection of the scarcity of such jobs in the rural environment.

Overview

The significant relationship between the propensity of an individual to migrate and his educational attainment and subsequent employment may perhaps reflect the educational policies of 1964-71. On the other hand, while the orientation of those policies was to provide education for national development, especially in the modern sector, they do in turn reflect the most economically optimistic time that Ecuador has ever known - the period of the exploitation of the new oil reserves in the Amazon basin. It is most likely that the planners, carried along by the euphoria of the situation, determined to give the nation idealistic and nationalistic motives to join the modern urban labour force. The migratory flow, and the jobs obtained by the people from these five communities show that the rural people can make a significant contribution to the modern sector labour force, but only at the lowest levels unless they have further training.

The human resource projections for the rural community are soberly accurate. The best people from the countryside, in terms of educational experience, can only aspire to the worst jobs in towns. Migration certainly makes available a greater number of jobs; it does not alter the level of entry into the labour market.

Changes in educational policy are unlikely to be effective if they are not supported by material resources and expertise and if the projects included in the package, such as the nuclearization projects, are not relevant to the needs and potential of the local population. If successful, they could promote a respect for life on the land. If they can create more employment opportunities in the rural communities, they may have some effect both on community development and on the migratory flow. If they fail, through inadequate planning and resources, they will only aggravate the sense of frustration and inferiority among the rural population.

As long as educational provision is so far behind that of the towns, and as long as major government planning policies see no need to further educate the rural labour force, half the working population of Ecuador will continue to be allocated the least respected jobs because of their place of birth and abode. They will be increasingly aware of the differences between the qualifications and employment opportunities of workers of urban and rural origins and increasingly unhappy at their own inferiority. Without more education they will be unable to participate more fully in the development of their country.

Notes

1. Junta Nacional de Planificación y Coordinación Económica (1971) Plan ecuatoriano para los recursos humanos, Vols I and II, Quito, Ecuador.

2. Ibid, vol II, p. 12.

3. Ibid, vol II, p. 12 and Ministerio de Educación Publica (1971), Plan ecuatoriano de educación, Quito, Ecuador.

4. During the period of field work in Atahualpa, the increasing difficulty of getting a non-agricultural job was frequently a cause for comment.

5. Ministerio de Educación Publica (1959), Programas para las escuelas rurales y semi rurales, Quito, Ecuador.

6. Ibid, p. 15.

7. Ibid.

8. Ibid, p. 16.

9. Ibid.

10. Ministerio de Educación Publica (1964, 1969, 1971), Plan ecuatoriano de educación, Quito, Ecuador.

11. Ibid, p. 26.

12. Ibid, p. 27.

13. Ibid, p. 63.

14. Ibid.

15. Ministerio de Educación Publica (1971), Plan de desarrollo de la educación, Quito, Ecuador.

16. Ibid, p. 4.

17. This was true of Quilanga, Guachapala, Canchagua and Atahualpa.

18. Ministerio de Educacion Publica (1974), Analysis sectoral de la educación en el Ecuador, Quito, Ecuador.

19. Ministerio de Educación Publica (1971), Plan ecuatoriano de educación, p. 31.

20. Ibid, and Censo Nacional de la Poblacion, 1974.

21. See page 3 for details of the pilot study on attitudes to education in Ecuador.

22. Junta Nacional de Planificación y Coordinación Económica, Plan ecuatoriano para el desarrollo de los recursos humanos, Vol II.

Note

23. See page 3 for details of the project.

24. Junta Nacional de Planificación y Coordinacion Económica (1971), Plan ecuatoriano para el desarrollo de los recursos humanos, Vol II.

25. Migration from the area of Canchagua and Chantilin has been heavy throughout the twentieth century. Most migrants have gone to the coastal lowlands, not to work on the land, but as petty merchants, often peddling their wares, usually clothing, from community to community. However the system began, it is clear that educational experience had little to do with this migration since the overall educational experience of non-migrants from the area was lower than that of the non-migrants. It is interesting to note that the educational level of merchants from the other case study was considerably higher than in Canchagua and Chantilín.

26. Those who are not, were either commuting at nights to attend secondary courses, or else were girls, who were working for their secondary education certificate by specialising in dressmaking, which was possible within the community.

27. One such case was encountered, in Atahualpa. A Sra. Gigia from Quito, aged 45-50 had bought part of the old Mojanda estate. She had never farmed, having been an office worker all her life. Her attempts at agriculture and livestock management provided a constant source of amusement to the local people, particularly since she had been unwilling to accept their advice in the early days of the enterprise.

28. The data were analysed using the SPSS programs available at Leeds University.

29. The data for this table include all the returned migrants regardless of age.

30. PREDESUR (Proyecto ecuatoriano para el desarrollo del sur) is an internationally funded project intended to develop the frontier areas of Southern Ecuador and Northern Perú.

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